MANUFACTURES

Basketry

415 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 476 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women [461] gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

Fig. 6 *a* (80.2-1634), *b* (80.2-1631), *c* (80.2-1230), *d* (80.2 1237), *f* (80.2-1643), *g* (80.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p.129]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539]

Wâtim'a	ahâwamuhavi
wa'a'agadj	
(a hero's name)	he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wîθa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171]

[1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 303).

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [476]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and
seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men some-
times traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own work-
manship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male
groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also
obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with
another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was con-
ducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave
to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade
route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and
cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the
Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

462 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based
mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence"
which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance"
(1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal
communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either
on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while
many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or chil-
dren. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always
been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the
tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed
by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which
socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented
status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predomi-
nance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance
which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177